

Message Text

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H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 SAM-01 SAJ-01 IO-10 INRE-00 EB-07 ACDA-10 EA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC 0274

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

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ANKARA PASS ROBERT ANDERSON

DEPARTMENT PASS NSCE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

USIA FOR IPS, IBS, IWE, IOP/M

STATE FOR EUR/CE

VOA MUNICH FOR MR. HALSEY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A)

SUBJECT: PRESS COVERAGE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S BONN-
BERLIN VISIT

1. SUMMARY: THERE WAS HEAVY MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE
SECRETARY'S VISIT TO THE FRG, WITH HIS NEW ASSURANCES

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OF THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO BERLIN RECEIVING MOST

ATTENTION. ALL MAJOR DAILIES CARRIED THE KISSINGER VISIT AS THE LEAD OR OFF-LEAD STORY, AND ALL EMPHASIZED THE SECRETARY'S REMARKS RELATING TO THE U.S. COMMITMENT. THE HEADLINES FROM A HALF-DOZEN SERIOUS DAILIES ILLUSTRATE THE THRUST OF THE COVERAGE: DIE WELT: "AMERICA STANDS SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH BERLIN"; SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: "KISSINGER CALLS BERLIN A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM"; FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU: "KISSINGER RE-AFFIRMS GUARANTEE FOR BERLIN"; FAZ: "KISSINGER CALLS WEST BERLIN ACID TEST OF DETENTE POLICY"; MUENCHNER MERKUR: "KISSINGER: SECURITY OF WEST BERLIN REMAINS A VITAL INTEREST OF THE U.S."; GENERAL-ANZEIGER: "KISSINGER: BERLIN CONTINUES TO BE PIVOTAL POINT OF DETENTE." EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE KISSINGER VISIT AND HIS REMARKS IN BERLIN APPEARED IN ALL DAILIES, WITH THE ASSESSMENT GENERALLY VERY FAVORABLE. YESTERDAY'S MEDIA (MAY 21) ALSO DEALT HEAVILY WITH THE KISSINGER VISIT, BUT PUT EMPHASIS ON THE SECRETARY'S PREVIOUS STOP, VIENNA, AND HIS TALKS THERE WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO, NOTING THAT KISSINGER WAS TRAVELING TO BONN AND BERLIN TO DEMONSTRATE AMERICAN RELIABILITY. EDITORIALISTS NOTED AND GENERALLY AGREED WITH THE SECRETARY'S REMARK ON ARRIVAL THAT U.S.-FRG RELATIONS ARE GOOD. SEVERAL PAPERS ALSO REPORT ON WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT SATISFACTION WITH THE KISSINGER VISIT. THE GOVERNMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN, ARNIM GRUEFEWALD, SAID AT THE OPENING OF HIS TUESDAY PRESS CONFERENCE THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S TALK EARLIER IN THE DAY WITH THE SECRETARY HAD BEEN FRIENDLY AND USEFUL, TOUCHING ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THE GROMYKO TALKS, THE ENERGY CONFERENCE, MBFR, CSCE, AND THE SITUATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA.

2. MANY NEWSPAPERS AND MOST RADIO NEWSCASTS TODAY CARRY WITHOUT COMMENT BRIEF REPORTS CITING EAST GERMAN COMPLAINTS THAT WEST GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER OFFICIALLY ACCOMPANIED THE SECRETARY TO WEST BERLIN, AN ACT THE EAST GERMANS INSIST IS OUTSIDE GENSCHER'S COMPETENCE. THE EAST GERMAN CRITICISM, CARRIED BY THE OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY ADN, CHARGED GENSCHER WITH "ARROGANCE OF OFFICE," AND SAID IT REPRESENTED "A UNCLASSIFIED

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FLAGRANT OFFENSE AGAINST THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT FOR WEST BERLIN, WHICH, AS IS WELL KNOWN, STIPULATES THAT WEST BERLIN DOES NOT BELONG TO THE FRG AND MAY NOT BE GOVERNED BY IT."

3. TELEVISION COVERAGE OF THE KISSINGER VISIT TO BONN AND BERLIN WAS EQUALLY HEAVY, ALTHOUGH, AS WITH MANY NEWSPAPERS, THE STORY SHARED PROMINENCE WITH THE OPENING

DAY OF THE BAADER-MEINHOF TRIAL IN STUTTGART. HANS
WERNER SCHWARZE, A LEADING COMMENTATOR ON CHANNEL TWO,
NOTED THAT THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO BERLIN BROUGHT
"NOTHING SENSATIONAL," BUT HE ADDED THAT IT WAS, NONE-
THELESS, "NECESSARY FOR SOME GERMANS AS WELL AS FOR
THOSE CITIZENS OF OTHER NATO STATES WHO HAD WAVERED IN
THEIR TRUST IN THE RELIABILITY OF AMERICAN PROTECTION
OF WESTERN EUROPE AFTER THE PREDICTABLE END IN VIETNAM.
BESIDES, KISSINGER'S VISIT MUST MAKE MOSCOW AND EAST
BERLIN REALIZE THAT -- IN SPITE OF VIETNAM -- THE
FUNDAMENTS AND THE COURSE OF WASHINGTON'S EUROPEAN
POLICY HAVE NOT CHANGED. TO THE WESTERN SUPERPOWER, THE

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WEST BERLINERS HAD BEEN A SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE TO EASTERN PRESSURE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE COLD WAR. BECAUSE OF BERLIN'S GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION, THE CITY MUST NOW BE THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION WHETHER DETENTE BASED ON THE STATUS QUO WILL REALLY WORK. THE AMERICANS CONSIDER THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AS A SIMILARLY IMPORTANT MATTER, BECAUSE THE PRACTICE OF EXCLUDING CONTROVERSIAL LEGALITIES IN ORDER TO COME TO REASONABLE AGREEMENTS COULD BE A MODEL FOR OTHER QUESTIONS AS WELL. TO THE U.S., SUCH AN EXCLUSION WILL CERTAINLY NOT LEAD TO A SOLUTION OF THE OMITTED PROBLEMS, BUT IT MIGHT PRESENT ESCALATION THROUGH PRESSURES THAT ONLY THE RUSSIANS COULD APPLY. THE UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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SECRETARY OF STATE HAS AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THIS LOGICAL CONCEPTION. THIS IS THE ESSENTIAL VALUE OF HIS BLITZ VISIT."

4. THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, AN INDEPENDENT CONSERVATIVE DAILY, DEALT AT LENGTH WITH THE KISSINGER BERLIN SPEECH, NOTING THAT "IT IS DIFFICULT TO ADDRESS THREE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF LISTENERS." THE FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL SAID: "THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE DID HIS BEST IN BERLIN... SO SOON AFTER A HEAVY AMERICAN DEFEAT IN ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD HE COULD NOT SAY MORE WITHOUT BEING UNTRUSTWORTHY. THE CITY MUST BE CONTENT WITH THIS FOR THE TIME BEING. KISSINGER'S SECOND ADDRESSEE WAS THE MAN HE TALKED WITH TWO DAYS EARLIER (GROMYKO). THAT WHICH HAD BEEN WORKED OUT AS A SOLID BASIS WITH GROMYKO IN VIENNA COULD NOT BE JEOPARDIZED IN BERLIN. THIS IS ILLUSTRATED BY THE RATHER WORN FORMULAS OF REPORTEDLY EASED CONFRONTATION, SECURITY THROUGH NEGOTIATION, AND RESTRAINT AS THE ONLY REALISTIC OPTION -- ALL OF THEM ADDRESSED TO THE EAST. THEIR ENTREATING TENOR ONLY TOOK ON A SOMEWHAT FIRMER NOTE IN THE REPEATED AND ADMONISHING REFERENCE TO THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF A SCRUPULOUS OBSERVANCE OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. HAD KISSINGER BEEN EVEN MORE PLAIN IN HIS TALKS WITH GROMYKO? MOSCOW'S RECENT INTOLERABLE PRESUMPTIONS, OF WHICH A SOVIET NOTE TO THE UN WAS TYPICAL, HAVE AGAIN CAST DOUBT ON THE LOYAL OBSERVANCE OF THIS AGREEMENT. BUT THE MORE DIFFICULT ADDRESSEE OF A SPEECH MADE BY U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE IS NEITHER GROMYKO NOR BREZHNEV. IT IS THE CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON, THE AMERICAN VOTERS, THE OPINION-MAKERS ON THE EASTERN SEABOARD: THEY PREFER NOT TO BE REMINDED FROM THIS CITY OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS. WITH AN EYE ON THEM KISSINGER HAS GLOSSED OVER THE PRESENT SITUATION IN BERLIN. IT IS, UNFORTUNATELY, INCORRECT THAT BERLIN IS

ENJOYING GREATER SECURITY THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE LAST
THIRTY YEARS. BUT AFTER ALL, KISSINGER REFERRED TO
BERLIN AS THE 'ACID TEST' OF THE PERIOD HE HOPES TO
ENTER; WE HOPE THAT ALSO HIS AMERICAN LISTENERS HAVE
HEARD THIS. IN GERMAN, 'ACID TEST' MEANS 'PRUEFSTEIN'
-- A WORD ALWAYS USED WHENEVER HOPES FOR DETENTE HAVE
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AGAIN PROVED TO BE IN VAIN."

5. HERBERT KREMP, THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE MIGHT - -OF-
CENTER DAILY DIE WELT, WROTE IN A LEAD EDITORIAL THAT
"KISSINGER'S (BERLIN) ADDRESS WAS TYPICAL OF THE GLOBAL
POLICY WASHINGTON WANTS TO PURSUE AFTER THE END IN
SOUTHEAST ASIA." HE CONTINUED: "ITS CONTENTS AND TENOR
WERE MORE OR LESS IN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN WILLY BRANDT
AND HARRY TRUMAN... THE NAME OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT STOOD
FOR RESISTANCE TO THE SOVIET WILL TO EXPANSION. THE
NAME OF THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR STOOD FOR SOFTNESS TOWARD
REALITIES ... BY REAFFIRMING THE GUARANTEE OF BERLIN'S
FREEDOM ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT FORD AND THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE, KISSINGER EXPRESSED WASHINGTON'S NEW STRATEGY
OF ALLIANCE, WHICH IS KEYED TO NEW AND ESSENTIAL AIMS...
WASHINGTON'S GLOBAL POLICY PASSES THROUGH A CRITICAL
PHASE. KISSINGER'S AIM IS TO PREVENT IT FROM LEADING
INTO A CRISIS... A NEW IMAGE OF AMERICA WITH CLEARER
CONTOURS IS EMERGING. INSTEAD OF ONLY HUMILIATING THE
U.S., THE DISGRACE OF THE PARIS TREATY FOR VIETNAM AND
THE LIGHTNING WAR OF THE NORTH HAVE AROUSED AMERICA'S
PRIDE AND SELF-ASSURANCE... THE MAYAGUEZ INCIDENT HAS
MADE THE POLITICAL PENDULUM SWING BACK TO THE TRADITIONAL
TOUGHNESS FOR WHICH THE NAME OF HARRY TRUMAN STANDS."

6. THE FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, A LEFTOF-CENTER DAILY,
SAYS IN ITS LEAD EDITORIAL THAT KISSINGER'S BERLIN
SPEECH WAS AN IMPORTANT DEMONSTRATION, BUT THAT THE
SECRETARY "WAS CAREFUL NOT TO INFLATE MYTHS." THE
PAPER SAID KISSINGER "DID NOT COMMENT ON THE SOVIET

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ASSERTION THAT THE WESTERN POWERS DO NOT HAVE ANY ORIGINAL RIGHTS IN EAST BERLIN ... THE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT THE QUADRIpartite RIGHTS APPLY WITHOUT MODIFICATION TO ALL OF BERLIN. BUT THE CLEVER KISSINGER WOULD SAY SO AT BEST IN A MARGINAL REMARK, NOT IN AN OFFICIAL ADDRESS."

7. THE MUENCHNER MERKUR, A CONSERVATIVE MUNICH DAILY, SAID, "THERE WAS NO SHORTAGE OF STRONG WORDS FROM WASHINGTON. KISSINGER ALSO USED SUCH LANGUAGE IN BERLIN. BUT HIS PROMISE THAT AMERICA WILL NEVER SEEK PEACE BY ABANDONING PRINCIPLES OR SACRIFICING FRIENDS WILL BE TAKEN BY MANY WITH A GRAIN OF SALT..."

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8. ANOTHER CONSERVATIVE DAILY, THE RHEINISCHE POST (DUESSELDORF), STRUCK A SIMILAR CHORD IN AN EDITORIAL, SAYING THAT "KISSINGER EQUATED WEST BERLIN'S SECURITY WITH U.S. SECURITY... BUT MERE WORDS WILL NOT SUFFICE TO RESTORE WASHINGTON'S CREDIBILITY." THE POST ALSO

ADDRESSED ITSELF TO THE SECRETARY'S MEETING IN BONN WITH LEADING WEST GERMAN OFFICIALS, SAYING THAT AN ANALYSIS OF THE TALKS SHOWS "THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL FULLY MAINTAIN ITS MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE FRG, AND THAT CONGRESS WILL SUPPORT THIS POLITICALLY WITHOUT AGAIN MAKING TROUBLE. IN RETURN, BONN WILL INTENSIFY ITS EFFORTS, INCLUDING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, FOR THE PURPOSE OF STABILIZING NATO'S FLANK PROTECTION IN GREECE, TURKEY AND PORTUGAL. AT WASHINGTON'S REQUEST, BONN WILL UNDERTAKE FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL EFFORTS, WHICH THE U.S. AT PRESENT CANNOT."

9. THE GENERAL-ANZEIGER, AN INDEPENDENT BONN DAILY, COMMENTED THAT "THE AMERICANS DO NOT NAIVELY BELIEVE IN A WORLD IN WHICH THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES... KISSINGER'S MEETING WITH GROMYKO, HIS TALKS IN BONN AND HIS BERLIN ADDRESS WERE PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO MAKE CLEAR THE NEW ACCENTS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, THUS TO PREPARE FOR THE NATO SUMMIT AND SET THE SWITCHES FOR THE CONCLUDING CSCE PHASE IN A WAY THAT THE RESULT YIELDS MORE IN SECURITY AND COOPERATION. WE AGREE WITH KISSINGER THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE IN THE THERMONUCLEAR AGE."

10. THE ROLE OF BERLIN IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IS ALSO DEALT WITH BY THE INDEPENDENT SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG OF MUNICH, WHICH EDITORIALIZED THAT "WEST BERLIN IS NOT IN DANGER OF BECOMING THE VICTIM OF POSSIBLE REVISIONS IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. RADIO MOSCOW PROVIDED AN ACCOMPANYING TUNE, WHICH, ALTHOUGH NOT IN LINE WITH ALL POINTS OF WESTERN INTERPRETATION OF THE BERLIN QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, PERMITS THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN CONTINUING THE POLICY OF DETENTE, AND, THEREFORE, DO NOT WANT CONTROVERSY OR EVEN TESTS OF STRENGTH OVER WEST BERLIN. THE SOVIETS KNOW THAT THE WESTERN SECTORS ARE NO PLACE FOR
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TESTING AMERICA'S WEAKNESS OR READINESS TO YIELD IN THE AFTERMATH OF INDOCHINA. TO UNDERLINE THIS PUBLICLY, KISSINGER COULD DO WITHOUT CHOOSING STRONG LANGUAGE IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE WEST BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THE TOUGHNESS OF THE AMERICAN POSITION WAS REFLECTED BY HIS LINKING THE CONTINUATION OF THE DETENTE PROCESS TO SCRUPULOUS OBSERVANCE OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT." HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, MINISTERIAL VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BONN08258
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750181-0206
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750525/aaaaavsp.tel
Line Count: 379
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <25 JUL 2003 by SilvaL0>; APPROVED <30 JAN 2004 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS COVERAGE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S BONN- BERLIN VISIT
TAGS: OVIP, US, GE, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: ANKARA STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006